

<u>CERTIFIED MAIL</u> RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Dara Kushner 345 E. 5th St. Apt. A New York, NY 10003

JUL 1 2 2002

RE: M

MUR 5279

Bill Bradley for President, Inc.

Dear Ms. Kushner:

On June 26, 2002, the Federal Election Commission found that there is reason to believe you violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(3), 441f and 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.5(b), 110.4(b)(1)(iv), provisions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the Act") and Commission regulations. The Factual and Legal Analysis, which formed a basis for the Commission's finding, is attached for your information.

You may submit any factual or legal materials that you believe are relevant to the Commission's consideration of this matter. Please submit such materials to the General Counsel's Office within 15 days of your receipt of this letter. In addition, please complete and return the enclosed questionnaire within 15 days. Where appropriate, statements should be submitted under oath. In the absence of additional information, the Commission may find probable cause to believe that a violation has occurred and proceed with conciliation.

If you are interested in pursuing pre-probable cause conciliation, you should so request in writing. See 11 C.F.R. § 111.18(d). Upon receipt of the request, the Office of the General Counsel will make recommendations to the Commission either proposing an agreement in settlement of the matter or recommending declining that pre-probable cause conciliation be pursued. The Office of the General Counsel may recommend that pre-probable cause conciliation not be entered into at this time so that it may complete its investigation of the matter. Further, the Commission will not entertain requests for pre-probable cause conciliation after briefs on probable cause have been mailed to the respondent.

Requests for extensions of time will not be routinely granted. Requests must be made in writing at least five days prior to the due date of the response and specific good cause must be

demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days.

If you intend to be represented by counsel in this matter, please advise the Commission by completing the enclosed form stating the name, address, and telephone number of such counsel, and authorizing such counsel to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission.

This matter will remain confidential in accordance with 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(4)(B) and 437g(a)(12)(A), unless you notify the Commission in writing that you wish the investigation to be made public.

For your information, we have enclosed a brief description of the Commission's procedures for handling possible violations of the Act. If you have any questions, please contact Albert Veldhuyzen or Michelle E. Abellera, the attorneys assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Karl J. Sandstrom Vice Chairman

Enclosures
Factual and Legal Analysis
Procedures
Designation of Counsel Form
Questionnaire

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

RESPONDENT:

Dara Kushner

MUR: 5279

I. GENERATION OF MATTER

This matter was generated by an audit of Bradley for President, Inc. ("Committee") and Theodore V. Wells, as treasurer, undertaken in accordance with 26 U.S.C. § 9038(a).

II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

A. Law

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), provides that no person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his name to be used to effect such a contribution, and no person shall knowingly accept a contribution made by one person in the name of another. 2 U.S.C. § 441f. See also 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1).

B. Contribution in the Name of Another

The Committee received 40 business checks totaling \$40,000 on June 22, 1999. The checks were written on the accounts of 40 different business entities and attributed to 39 individuals. A contribution schedule provided by the Committee listed all the contributors as partners in various "partnerships;" the schedule listed the names of the partnerships, the contributing partner and the address of the partnership. All of the partnerships have the same address: 26 Columbia Turnpike, Florham Park, NJ. This address is the corporate headquarters of Kushner Companies, a business owned and chaired by Charles Kushner. Seven S.L.P.

Associates has been identified as a managing residential property held by Kushner Companies.

Dun and Bradstreet reports indicate that Kushner Companies is involved in approximately 100 locations. These properties appear to be managed by partnerships or limited liability companies in which Kushner Companies is the general partner.

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One of the contributions (check #5078 written for \$1,000) was attributed to Dara Kushner

- as a partner of Seven S.L.P. Associates. However, there is no evidence to confirm that Ms.
- 3 Kushner is a partner in Seven S.L.P. Associates or that Ms. Kushner's individual partnership
- 4 account was charged.² The Commission attempted to verify the status of Seven S.L.P.
- 5 Associates through Dun and Bradstreet and the New Jersey Secretary of State. There was no
- 6 evidence that Ms. Kushner was a "partner" of Seven S.L.P. Associates. However, research by
- 7 this office revealed that Ms. Kushner is a relative of Mr. Kushner.

8 An examination of all 40 contribution checks indicates that they were mass-produced and

originated from a single corporate source. The accountholder's name, bank routing numbers and

other notations all appear to be printed in the same type as the payee and amount information.

All but three checks contained the same typographical error. The fundraiser's name, Sapoch, was

spelled incorrectly in the payee line ("Japoch"). All of the checks were drawn on accounts held

at two different banks, Norcrown Bank and Valley National Bank. Norcrown Bank is part of the

Kushner group of businesses. Lastly, all the checks appear to have been signed by the same

person. Although not legible, the signatures on the checks appear very consistent.³ Given the

likelihood that the checks were signed by Mr. Kushner and originated from Kushner Companies

and given the absence of evidence that the partners of the various partnerships intended to make

contributions, the Office of General Counsel believes that Kushner Companies and/or Mr.

19 Kushner were the true source of the contributions.

The Committee sent follow-up letters to determine the eligibility of the contributions for matching funds. Only 4 of the 39 contributors replied to the Committee's request for verification. Ms. Kushner did not reply.

A comparison of the check signatures with Mr. Kushner's signature as displayed on the Kushner Companies' website suggests that the signatures may have originated from the same person.

Given Kushner Companies and Mr. Kushner's control over Seven S.L.P. Associates and other partnerships, Mr. Kushner's relation to Ms. Kushner and other named contributors, and the fact that the contributions appear to be signed by the same individual, were written for the same amount, and delivered on the same day, it is likely that contributions were made in the name of another. Furthermore, Ms. Kushner made contributions to other federal campaign committees under similar circumstances. The presence of this bundling pattern of contributions suggests that Ms. Kushner may have allowed her name to be used to effect contributions in the name of another. Accordingly, the Commission found reason to believe that Dara Kushner violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f and 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iv).

C. Excessive Contributions

The Act prohibits individuals from making contributions aggregating more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(3). Any contribution made to a candidate with respect to a particular election, but made in a non-election year, is considered to be made during the calendar year in which the election is held. 11 C.F.R. § 110.5(c)(1)-(2). Based on a review of the campaign disclosure database, it appears that Ms. Kushner made contributions totaling \$33,000 in 2000. Accordingly, the Commission found reason to believe that Ms. Kushner violated 2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(3) and 11 C.F.R. § 110.5(b) by making contributions in excess of her annual \$25,000 contribution limitation.



Questionnaire in Matter Under Review 5279Dara Kushner

Questionnaire Instructions

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g, the Federal Election Commission is investigating contributions to the Bill Bradley for President, Inc. ("Bradley Committee") during the 2000 presidential primary election campaign. The Commission has obtained documents that appear to show that you made a \$1,000 partnership contribution to the Bradley Committee on June 16, 1999 by check number 5078. A copy of check number 5078 is attached for your review.

Please answer the following questions by checking the appropriate boxes or filling in the blank lines. Please review your answers to ensure they are accurate and complete. For all questions that call for a description or explanation, attach additional sheets if necessary. Please submit the questionnaire to the General Counsel's Office within 15 days of receipt.

•	What is your occup	ation?	•			
	Please provide you	r employer's a	ddress			
		en employer's a	adress.			
	Did you make a \$1 number 5078?	,000 partnersh	ip contribution to the Br	radley Committee with check		
	. 🗖	Yes		No		
	Did you consent to	the \$1,000 pa	rtnership contribution?			
		Yes		No		
	a. When did you consent to the \$1,000 partnership contribution?					
	b. How did you c	onsent to the \$	1,000 partnership contri	ibution?		
				······································		

	c.	Who did you communicate your consent to)?	
	d.	Did anyone acknowledge your consent? P	lease name t	the individual(s).
	e.	When was your consent acknowledged?		
5.	Are	e you a partner of Seven S.L.P. Associates?		
		□ Yes		No
7.		hat is your partnership status? Are you a lime ven S.L.P. Associates?	nited partner	or a general partner of
		☐ Limited Partner		General Partner
3.	Ple	ease describe the structure and status of Sev	en S.L.P. As	ssociates:
	a.	How many limited partners does Seven S.	L.P. Associa	ates have?
	b.	Please list the limited partners of Seven S.	L.P. Associa	ates.
	c.	Please list the general partners of Seven S	.L.P. Associ	ates.
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	d.	When was Seven S.L.P. Associates created?
	e.	What is the relationship between Seven S.L.P. Associates and Kushner Companies?
9.	Ple	ease describe your involvement and participation in Seven S.L.P. Associates:
	a.	When did you become a partner of Seven S.L.P. Associates?
	b.	What was the percentage of your ownership interest when you joined Seven S.L.P. Associates?
	c.	What was the percentage of your ownership interest in Seven S.L.P. Associates on June 16, 1999?
	d.	What is the percentage of your current ownership interest in Seven S.L.P. Associates
	e.	Please list any limitation or restrictions on your use of funds in the Seven S.L.P. Associates account.

	f.	Are you er	nployed	by Seven S.L.P. Associate	es?	
				Yes		No
	g.	Are you as	n officer	of Seven S.L.P. Associate	s?	
				Yes	□ .	No
	h.	Please des Seven S.L		our job title(s) and responsi ociates?	bilities as a	an employee or officer of
10.		ow did you mmittee?	submit	your \$1,000 contribution v	vith check	number 5078 to the Bradley
11.		id you auth	orize the	e \$1,000 contribution with		
12.		id funds for nk account	the \$1,	000 contribution with chec	_	
	Uai	ik account		Yes		No
13.				,000 contribution with che	ck number	5078 originate from a
	pe	rsonai partr	nersnip i	nterest that you control? Yes		No
14.				entation showing that your interest was charged.	bank acco	unt was debited or your
15.	а.	Does Seve	en S.L.P	. Associates organize a po	litical cont	ribution plan for its members?
				Yes		No
	b.	Please des	scribe th	e contribution plan.		
			-			

	lease describe in e Bradley Comm	ittee.	's involvement i		_	of your contribution to
 a.		ociated with Sev the Bradley Com		iates e	ncoura	ge you to make a
		Yes			No	·
a.	Did anyone ass	sociated with Kus the Bradley Com Yes	-	s enco		you to make a
b.	Please list the i		escribe the circu		No ces.	
. A	re you a membe	r of any other pa	rtnerships?			
		Yes			No	(If you answered "no, please proceed to question 34.)
						tes, to which you belor

pl qu 26. On a separate sheet, please list the contributions you made as a par partnerships. Please follow the format shown below. Committee:	you belong and
Kushner Companies? 25. Have you made contributions to federal committees as a partner of partnerships? Yes No (I place) Quadrate sheet, please list the contributions you made as a par partnerships. Please follow the format shown below. Committee:	you belong and
partnerships? Yes	
p. que 26. On a separate sheet, please list the contributions you made as a par partnerships. Please follow the format shown below. Committee:	these other
partnerships. Please follow the format shown below. Committee:	You answered "no ease proceed to estion 34.)
	ner of other
	mount:
27. a. Do the partnerships organize political contribution plans for its	nembers?
p	f you answered "no ease proceed to lestion 30.)
b. Please describe the contribution plan.	

28.	As a partner, did you	ı agree to make politi	cal contributions	throu	gh a plan?
	ä	Yes		No	(If you answered "no," please proceed to question 30.)
29.	When did you agree	to participate in such	-		
	For each of the above to the respective com	_	se indicate how y	ou sul	omitted the contributions
31.	Please list all other p committees. Please		rsonnel who rece		
32.	a. Did anyone assoc to the federal com		rships encourage	you to	o make contributions
	b. Please list the ind	ividuals and describe	the circumstanc	es.	
33.	a. Did anyone assoc to the federal com		companies encou	rage y	ou to make contributions
		Yes	. 🗖	No	
	b. Please list the inc	dividuals and describ	e the circumstand	ces.	

bonuses, reimbur	quence o					
	Yes			No		
b. Please list the inc	lividuals and	describe the cir	cumstanc	ces.		
•			A gradu			_
What is your relation	nship to Kusl	hner Companie	s?			
						· ——
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Have you ever been	employed by	/ Kushner Com	panies?			
	Yes			No		
Please provide the l	ength of your	employment o	r associa	tion with	Kushner Comp	anie:
Kushner Companies soliciting contribution collecting and forward forward fundances and fundances.	and associated and associated are associated are	ed partnerships ng or requesting outions. "Fundra to other events	. "Fundr g that a co aising act	aising acontribution	tivity" includes on be made; mak so includes meet	cing,
	·					
		<u>.</u>	•		·	
_						
]	The provide the last soliciting contribution collecting and forward discussions and functions.	fundraising activities on behalt Yes Please list the individuals and What is your relationship to Kush Yes Please provide the length of your Please describe any other fundrates the soliciting contributions; suggesting collecting and forwarding contributions related	Yes D. Please list the individuals and describe the circular contributions and describe the circular contributions. Yes What is your relationship to Kushner Companies Have you ever been employed by Kushner Companies Yes Please provide the length of your employment of the companies and associated partnerships soliciting contributions; suggesting or requesting collecting and forwarding contributions. "Fundrations and contributions of the circular contributions and contributions."	Yes Describe the individuals and describe the circumstance of th	fundraising activities on behalf of political committees? Yes □ No Please list the individuals and describe the circumstances. What is your relationship to Kushner Companies? Have you ever been employed by Kushner Companies? □ Yes □ No Please provide the length of your employment or association with Please describe any other fundraising activity in which you have policiting contributions; suggesting or requesting that a contribution collecting and forwarding contributions. "Fundraising activity" also discussions and functions related to other events involving the sol	Please describe any other fundraising activity in which you have participated invo Kushner Companies and associated partnerships. "Fundraising activity" includes soliciting contributions; suggesting or requesting that a contribution be made; mak collecting and forwarding contributions. "Fundraising activity" also includes meet discussions and functions related to other events involving the soliciting, making,

Questionnaire- MUR 5279 Dara Kushner Page 9

	on the	day of	, 2002.
	Signature:_		
	Date:		
		•	
-	with you by telephone. Pormal business hours for u	_	phone number and tell
-	ormal business hours for us	_	ohone number and tell

Same.

Mail to all federal agencies in Washington, DC is irradiated against anthrax and other biological hazards. This has resulted in substantial delays in delivery. For this reason, we ask that you also fax a copy of your response to us at (202) 219-1043 or scan it and email it to Albert Veldhuyzen at aveldhuyzen@fec.gov.

If you have any questions, you may call the FEC attorneys assigned to this matter, Albert Veldhuyzen and Michelle Abellera, at (202) 694-1650 or (800) 424-9530.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

55-138/212 СИЕСК ИО. 5078	AMOUNT \$****1,000.00		CORP.
VALLEY NATIONAL BANK 73 S. LIVINGSTON AVE LIVINGSTON, NJ 07039		ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS AND NO CENTS	LLL BRADLEY PRES EXPL COMMITT SEVEN S.L.P. CORP. (O BETTY W. JAPOCH HAWTHORNE AVENUE RINCETON NJ 08540 AUTHORIZED SJGNATURE
SEVEN S.L.P. ASSOCIATES, 26 COLUMBIA TURNPIKE FLORHAM PARK NJ 07932	DATE 06/16/99	PAY EXACTLY ONE THOUSAND	BILL BRADLEY PRES EXPORT TO C/O BETTY W. JAPOCH THE 4 HAWTHORNE AVENUE ORDER PRINCETON NJ